A LETTER TO A FRIEND IN THE COUNTRY, &c.

[Price One Shilling.]

A LETTER TO A FRIEND IN THE COUNTRY, UPON THE NEWS of the TOWN.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for J. RAYMOND.

? 1755

A

LETTER.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE received your ſeveral importunate Letters for News. When you left us, I promiſed to write, if any Thing material happened. You might have concluded from my Silence that nothing material has happened. I wiſh it were in my Power to gratify you at a leſs Expence than Truth; but I cannot create Facts, and muſt beg

your Patience; for you may reſt aſſured, that nothing is known to have been done ſince the Prorogation of Parliament, except what you have read in the Papers, and you may poſſibly find Reaſon to make ſome Deduction from the Intelligence you draw from thence.

You will charge me with imitating my Betters in an affected Ignorance; but, believe me, I am not one of thoſe who wiſh to be accounted wiſe, for ſaying nothing; and, I will venture to ſay, that there are ſome of thoſe Betters who are as totally ignorant as myſelf.

There are different Speculations upon the Reaſons of this Secreſy. Some are ſanguine in their Hopes, that it promiſes the Deſtruction of our Enemies; others, perhaps from the ſame good Principles, appre-

apprehend, that it threatens what I will not name.

The Public has been alarmed, for ſeveral Years paſt, with Apprehenſions, I know not how well grounded, that certain Men are admitted to an excluſive Confidence where they ought not, in Juſtice to the Public, to be truſted at all.

Whatever Foundation there may be for this Suggeſtion, another Rumour is ſaid to be undoubtedly true, that there are Men, who from their Rank, their Office, their Virtues, and their Abilities, are ſuppoſed to be privy to every National Meaſure, but who are treated as ſuſpected Characters, with Coldneſs and Diffidence, or as the mere Inſtruments of ſome Inviſible Directors of the Machine, with Inſolence and Neglect.

If you have heard of this, for the Nation has heard it, what can you expect from a private Man, but a dead Silence upon Public Affairs; a Silence, not ſo much founded in an abject implicit Submiſſion, as in the Public-ſpirited Doubts and Fears of a Well-wiſher to his Country?

But, it is poſſible, that this Ignorance, which very conſiderable men profeſs, is not the Effect of any uncommon Secreſy, but of an uncommon Inanity, a total Suſpenſion of Meaſures and Councils.

The Body may be ſo disjointed, that no Member can do its Office; and, what at other Times is thought to demand the United Care and Attention of the Wiſeſt Hands, may be now left to the Operation of Chance. There may be an Inactivity, which naturally can produce Nothing, but

from

from which, through the mere Interpoſition of Chance, ſome Event or other, good, bad, or indifferent, may poſſibly ariſe.

You have heard of a whimſical Set of Philoſophers, who attributed the whole Creation to a fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms. The Whim has been exploded.

But, you will hardly believe it, the Atomic Philoſophy is crept into Politics; and, as it was refuted before, upon the fulleſt Evidence of Wiſdom and Deſign, ſo it is now demonſtrated, in this new Sphere, by as full undoubted Evidence, of the Want of Wiſdom and Deſign, of the Want of a Syſtem, and of the Want of any Meaſures that can pretend to the leaſt Appearance of a Syſtem.

You will ſay that this is News indeed, and very Alarming too. If a meer Nothing

thing will Alarm you, I can make your Blood run cold with the Nothingneſs, which is ſaid to have prevailed for ſome Time paſt, with the Diſunion, the Fears, the mutual Diſtruſt, and conſequently the Stagnation of Thought, Deſign, or Reſolution within Doors; which muſt, in the End, effect a proportionable Inaction without.

I can grant you, conſiſtently with the Views of Things, all the Merits of our Fleet, and all that has been done, during this middle State, between War and Peace, by the Illuſtrious Perſon who ſuperintends it.

But we have an Enemy to grapple with, who will laugh at mere Force. Council is the laſting Safeguard of a Nation. There is a Time in which Force will evaporate in Sound, but Wiſdom outlives it,

it, and ſupplies the Decay or the Imperfection of Power.

It is by Wiſdom and Council that Nations acquire a Superiority over each other. A Wiſe Adminiſtration will ſurprizingly increaſe the Force of Steel and Gunpowder. A Memorial, from ſuch an Adminiſtration, may ſometimes be equivalent to an Armament; for Wiſdom, whether National or Perſonal, will be reſpected, even when it is not in a Poſture to enforce Reſpect, by external Terrors.

But the Caſe is far otherwiſe with a Weak, Unſettled, Disjointed, and Undeſigning Adminiſtration. It will conſiſt of Men, who are either too Raſh to be Reverenced, or too Timorous to be Feared; of Men whoſe Timidity will put them upon concealing Early Intelligence of the Deſigns of an Enemy, and whoſe Raſh-

neſs

neſs will plunge them into Ruinous Meaſures, as ſoon as thoſe Deſigns break out into Action; of Men, whoſe Memorials will be as Light, and as Little regarded, as the Paper upon which they are delivered; for an impotent Remonſtrance can be of no more Value than the Paper that is waſted upon it.

I need not aſk you, which of the two you would chuſe to oppoſe to *French* Councils; and, I will not anſwer, if you ſhould aſk me, which of the two we have at preſent the Happineſs, or the Misfortune, to be influenced by?

I can truly make one Declaration, and have Millions to ſupport me in it, that we have more Virtues upon the Throne, than ever filled it in any Period of our Hiſtory.

It is not doing Juſtice to his Majeſty to ſay he Can do no Wrong in a Legal Senſe,

Senſe, for he has Shewn throughout his Reign, that he can do no Wrong in any Senſe.

We have the Experience of near thirty Years, upon which to ground the moſt perfect Confidence in Him; and, were it poſſible, for the executive Part of Government to be adminiſtered ſolely by Him, his Enemies, both Foreign and Domeſtic, would feel the Weight of His Character, and be put to Confuſion.

But whilſt there are Perſons, who publicly Profeſs themſelves Miniſters, whilſt One conſiders every Objection to a Meaſure, as a Perſonal Attack upon Himſelf; and another by circular Letters notifies, that he is appointed, to take upon himſelf the Conduct of a moſt reſpectable Aſſembly, His Majeſty cannot be even remotely glanced at, in any Obſervations upon

what is done by theſe Profeſſed Enterprizers.

But I need not guard myſelf to you, who know that my Life and Fortune are devoted to the Houſe of *Hanover*, and that, if ever I cenſure the Conduct of Public Perſons, it is at a Time, when I apprehend the Intereſts of the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment, in that Illuſtrious Houſe, to be affected.

I mention this particularly, becauſe a Zeal for that Eſtabliſhment is become, ſince the Acceſſion of the preſent Royal Family to the Throne, the great Criterion of an Honeſt Adminiſtration, as well as of an Honeſt Oppoſition.

A Miniſter, who has any Thing more at Heart, than the Support of the Conſtitution, will deviate into ſuch Inconſiſtencies

cies of Conduct, as will render his Fidelity Suſpicious. He will, perhaps inadvertently, reſign himſelf to Men, whoſe Principles he takes Pains to Diſavow, and thus he may almoſt as effectually betray his Truſt, as if he opened one of the Ports of the Kingdom for the Reception of the Abdicated Family.

For ſuch a Conduct not only facilitates the Cauſe of that Family, but weakens the Cauſe of the Prince, in whoſe Service he is Retained, by rendering it difficult for any Ally to treat with Confidence, where he finds neither Syſtem, nor Principle, upon which to ground a Confidence.

But if Silence and Inactivity be all my Complaint, it will be ſaid there is at leaſt no poſitive Harm done, and though an effectual Adminiſtration ſhould not have been formed, a good Subject ought to be

peaceable and Contented, till he feels ſome Miſchief ariſing from the Chaos, in which he Suppoſes his Rulers to be involved.

I grant it, but am not without Apology for my Diſcontent. If *Menenius Agrippa* was now alive, he would invert his Fable; and, inſtead of Shewing the evil Conſequence of a War, declared by the ſeveral Members of the Body, againſt the Belly, he would ſhew, how dangerous it is, for the Belly to claim and retain all the Nutriment to itſelf, in neglect not only of the Several Members, but even of the Head.

It is impoſſible to keep up the Attachment of a whole Nation to the wiſeſt and happieſt Conſtitution, unleſs the Value of it appear to be underſtood by thoſe, who undertake to preſerve it; and unleſs the ſame be conſtantly inculcated, not only by Words and Profeſſions, but by the

Union

Union of Such Men, and the Profecution of ſuch Meaſures, as the Enemies of that Conſtitution dread.

But if One Man, regardleſs of Conſequences, will aſſume to himſelf more than he can execute, and rather than betray his Impotency to thoſe, who can moſt effectually aſſiſt him, will leave the Nation in as helpleſs a Condition as Himſelf; and if Another, merely for the Sake of ſome Acceſſion of Power, will give up his own Opinion, his Friends, and in the End his Country, what will the Public conclude, but that both thoſe Men think no Price too great, to aggrandize themſelves, and think the leaſt Part of their Power too great a Sacrifice for the Preſervation of the Conſtitution, or the Support of their Maſter.

They will conſequently, in Time, ſtand alone. None but Mercenaries, and thoſe very

very dearly purchaſed, will join them. They will be at a loſs what Meaſures to take, for Every Meaſure of theirs will be ſuſpected of a ſiniſter Deſign; and, in the Midſt of their Fear and Confuſion, they will think MILLIONS ſquandered in SUBSIDIES, a *Bagatelle*, if they can but Shelter themſelves from the Union which they dread, of Honeſt Heads and Hearts, againſt Them and Their Deſigns.

Indeed, my Friend, my Heart is ſo full, that I am led inſenſibly to the obnoxious Point, upon which you deſire Information, and which it was my Intention to have evaded, as the Conſideration of it will ſoon be taken up, by abler Hands, in a more proper Place. However your Anxiety upon the Subject obliges me to Some Anſwer.

You wiſh to know the Grounds of the prevailing Rumours concerning Subſidies. I have been confidently aſſured, that the Fact is undoubted, ſo far as it reſpects the *Ruſſians* and *Heſſians* at leaſt. But the Reaſons I have for diſbelieving it, are not yet overpowered by Sufficient Evidence, that ſuch a Meaſure hath been either ADVISED or ADOPTED.

If it be undoubtedly true, we muſt leave it to the Conſideration of thoſe, to whom we have intruſted all that is Dear and Valuable to us, as Britons. But till by ſome more authentic Advices, than any I have yet met with, the Certainty of it is out of Diſpute, it becomes us to quiet the Minds of our anxious Friends, by ſhewing, that, the Rumour is to the higheſt Degree Improbable.

The

The *French* have hitherto committed no Hoſtilities, but in *America*. Their Encroachments there were many Months, if not many Years, antecedent to our Oppoſition to them; and might, as I am credibly informed, have been amicably check'd before a ſingle Subject of His Majeſty could be truly ſaid to be moleſted; for tho' the Forts they built were a direct Violation even of the Peace of *Utrecht*, yet they were built at a conſiderable Diſtance from the habitable Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions.

An *Engliſhman* ſhould bluſh to Confeſs how long the Fort on the *Eaſt* of the Falls of *Niagara* has been built. It was ſo manifeſtly erected upon the *Britiſh* Territory, that is in the Country of the *Iroquois*, that the only poſſible Claim our Enemies can make to it, is a moſt Diſgraceful one to us, I mean the Claim of Proſcription.

An

An Encroachment like this, with a Fort to defend it, muſt have been either not conſidered at all, or conſidered as an National Act of Defiance, by thoſe who received the Intelligence. It may indeed be ſo long ago, that no Perſon now living may think himſelf reſponſible for it.

If this ſhould be pleaded, the Apology will only pave the Way for another Inquiry, not ſo eaſily evaded. In whoſe Adminiſtration was CROWN POINT built? Upon whoſe Ground? And upon what Pretenſions? What were the Views of the *French* in Building it? And what Obſtruction was given on Our Part to the Execution of their Plan in this as well as the other Forts, which command the Lakes *Erie*, and *Ontario*, and the River *Ohio*.

If this Defiance of us, in, I had almoſt ſaid the moſt important Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions, preceded the laſt War, it will be natural to enquire what Notice of it was taken in the laſt Peace?

If His Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries received no Inſtruction on that Head, it ſhould be owing to the Want of Intelligence; for it is hardly credible, that repeated Remonſtrances have been tranſmitted from the Colonies to a certain Office, and from thence to a Superior Office; and that thoſe Remonſtrances have been either Deſtroyed, or left in the latter Office, ſometimes unopened, always neglected, and if they ſtill ſubſiſt, may be conſulted, if not too much obliterated by Duſt, as original Records of the moſt indefenſible Security, or Negligence.

In the mean Time the *French*, whoſe Policy I am ſorry to Commend, have acted upon one regular Syſtem, from the Treaty of *Utrecht* to the preſent Time. No Change of Adminiſtration hath in the leaſt varied the Syſtem. The Increaſe of their Territory, and the Diminution of our Power in *America* was the Object. Every Meaſure taken in that Part of the World hath contributed to the Proſecution of this End; and, it is not unſeaſonable to utter ſo Melancholy a Truth, we Ourſelves have been no ſmall Contributers.

Their Hoſtilities were commenced before the War, and have been uniformly carried on ſince the Peace. We neither availed ourſelves of the War to diſpoſſeſs them of our Property; nor, when we were negotiating a Peace, do we appear to have paid any Regard to a Point of the laſt Importance, which may involve us, ſooner

than we apprehend, in extreme Diſtreſs; nor, ſince the Concluſion of the Peace, have we, till very lately, manifeſted the leaſt Spark of that Jealouſy, with which Nations, as well as Individuals, ſhould watch, and aſſert their Rights.

His Majeſty, our BEST Protector, no ſooner Knew, that the Rights of his Crown and People were invaded, than he reſolved to do Juſtice to Himſelf and them. Accordingly His Parliament granted a Supply for the Purpoſe; and a prodigious naval Armament was raiſed, in a very ſhort Space of Time, great enough to ſtrike Terror into the Enemy, and to promiſe us Peace and Security at home. We have heard of ſome Succeſs, and ſome Diſappointment, as will be the Caſe, whenever an Appeal is made to the Sword. One conſiderable Point ſeems hitherto to have been gained.

The Enemy has tacitly confeſſed our Superiority at Sea, by not having yet reſented the Juſtice we have done ourſelves in Europe.

Is it probable, that in this State of Things, when we are ſecured by a powerful Navy, well manned, and admirably conducted, we ſhould, inſtead of increaſing or ſtrengthening our military Eſtabliſhment at home, look out officiouſly for a War upon the Continent, before the *French* ſeem to threaten it, before our Allies ſeem to apprehend it; a War, in which we cannot naturally be intereſted, and by the Event of which we cannot poſſibly be benefited; a War which, tho' ever ſo ſucceſsful, muſt exhauſt the little Remnant of our Treaſure, and which muſt, in the End, leave us Defenceleſs at Home. Is it probable, I ſay, that we ſhould Provoke

ſuch

ſuch aWar, that we ſhould voluntarily ſeek ſuch a Diſtreſs, nay Canvaſs for it in the ſeveral Courts, who have Subjects to lett; and Purchaſe it at an Expence, which if not attended with immediate Bankruptcy, will at leaſt give a greater Shock to our public Credit, than it hath yet received, even from the known Weakneſs, and Inſtability of thoſe, upon whoſe Characters the Credit of the Publick in great Meaſure depends?

Thoſe who circulate ſuch Rumours do not apprehend, that the only Point, for which theſe Subſidies can be contracted, is a War upon the Continent; and they would ſoon be convinced, how groundleſs their Rumours are, if they would take Time to conſider the Impracticability of a Continent War.

We

We were on the Brink of Ruin when all Sides met at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and, like litigious Men, gave up their reſpective Claims, becauſe the Fund for the Conteſt was exhauſted. Our Share of the Expence was ſuch, as this Nation cannot ſupport, without greater Reſources, than it is hitherto known to have.

We may poſſibly be diſtreſſed for Ways and Means to raiſe two Millions yearly, beſides doubling the Land-Tax, the Naval War alone will demand thoſe Sums at leaſt. If it be at all difficult to raiſe a Supply for the only War, in which we have a Chance of Succeſs, will you believe, that a Continent War, which the laſt Time we engaged in it was unſucceſsful, tho' the Expence amounted at Length to eleven Millions in one Year, ſhould now be ſo far premeditated, that the bare Prelude

of

of it, before any War at all is begun, ſhould amount to a moſt exorbitant Part of the Expence?

Our fellow Subjects in *America* have ſhewn us, where to encounter the Enemy, and what Hands are fit for the Work. Their Courage and the Succeſs of it, have pointed out to us the Spot, upon which we may gain by Victory; for a Victory there, ſtrikes at the Root of the War, by Diſpoſſeſſing the *French* of their Uſurpations.

The Diſtreſs, which drove us as well as our Enemies into the laſt Peace, did amply Convince us, that our Wealth is not Inexhauſtible; and I ſhould dread the Anſwer, were it to be aſked, where ſhall this new Continent War begin? I very much fear the Anſwer would be, where we left off, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. If ſo, how much Richer is this Kingdom, than it was at that Period? Or rather, how much leſs Poor?

What

What Alliances have been contracted in the intermediate Space, upon which to depend for Aſſiſtance? For ſubſidy Treaties are as foreign to Alliances, as mercenary Contracts and Engagements are, to the diſintereſted Union of honourable Friendſhip.

If a War upon the Continent was ſo intolerable a Burthen, that all Friends to their Country united in Acclamations of Joy for the Peace; if ſince the Peace, we have not yet been enabled to reduce more than a fortieth Part of the national Debt; and if we muſt become Debtors again for that Sum immediately, even tho' we ſhould eſcape paying ſubſidy Money, and exert none but our natural Strength, how ſhall we ſupport a Neceſſary, but Expenſive War, upon the Continent of *America*, conſiſtently with an unneceſſary, but inevitably ruinous one in the *Netherlands*.

Theſe muſt be the Schemes of ſome great comprehenſive Minds, too enlarged to confine their Views within the narrow Space of a CLOSET. That the NEGLECTS complained of ſhould be imputable to men; who Ignorant of the Geography or the Hiſtory of the World; regardleſs of the Intereſts of their Maſter, or the Complaints of their Fellow-Subjects, extend their Thoughts no farther, than that CLOSET, is much more Natural and Credible.

Their are Empirics in all Profeſſions. Ignorance, and Raſhneſs are as much their Characteriſtics in Politics, as in Phyſic. But I cannot conceive the Exiſtence of ſuch Empirics as an ADVISER, and an ADOPTER of a Meaſure like this. I cannot imagine any Man to have Weight enough to GIVE, or to ADOPT the Advice, who is regardleſs Enough of his Character, to avow the Meaſure;

Meaſure ; and the Nation that reſigns itſelf Chearfully, to ſo deſperate an Operation, is of all Valetudinarians the Weakeſt.

I have heard of unaccountable Things done by Perſons in Health, to prevent a Sickneſs ; and of Phyſicians, who rather than forfeit the good Opinion of a Patient, have humoured him, in an unwarrantable Preſcription.

But I never heard an Inſtance of a Phyſician bold enough, upon the Eruption of a Pimple, to order his Patient to be bliſtered, cupped, and blooded; and, after all the other Evacuations, to be left with the perpetual Drain of a Dozen Iſſues.

The Powers of the College might not be ſufficient to reſtrain and puniſh ſo Dangerous a Practitioner. He might find an Apothecary, who, upon ſeeing his Ac-

count in the Preſcription, might have the Effrontery to ADOPT it, and to talk, even unlike an Apothecary, when he ſtands up in Support of his Doctor.

But two ſuch Men, if left to themſelves, would Depopulate a Kingdom, in much leſs Time, than a victorious Army could conquer it. Their Succeſs would in Time create in themſelves an Opinion, that the Practice was Right; and if they ſhould receive a Negative Protection, from the Silence of their Enemies, they would repreſent all thoſe Enemies, as Enemies to Mankind.

The Opponents of this Meaſure have been already repreſented, as Enemies to the Whig Cauſe, by Perſons, to whom that Cauſe has very ſlender Obligations. But the Charge is received with a due Contempt. TRUE WHIGS will for ever oppoſe the Encroachments of *France*, and chearfully ſupport a NECESSARY War on the

the Continent. But it is burleſquing the Example of our Whig Anceſtors to urge it, as a Motive to an UNNECESSARY Continent War; and to a preparatory Expence, ſo very Extravagant, as will abſolutely Diſable us from engaging in ſuch a War, if it ſhould become needful.

But there is another View, in which this Meaſure is conſidered, and which to do Juſtice to it, ſhould not be paſſed over. It is called a Meaſure of DIVERSION. Our Intereſt we are told, is to withdraw the Attention of the Enemy from the Sea, and from our Colonies; and this Meaſure will moſt effectually Anſwer the End.

The Plea would be a very ſpecious one, were not the Means manifeſtly Deſtructive, even of the End itſelf. For the Diverſion would be ſo immenſely Expenſive,

ſive, that any Succeſs at Sea, and the Conqueſt of all the *French* Poſſeſſions in *America*, would not be equivalent to the Expence ſuſtained, I mean by this Nation, in its preſent Circumſtances of Debts and Credit.

The mere Chance of Safety can never be worth purchaſing, at the Price of certain inevitable Ruin. And how comes it to paſs, if the Prevention of theſe Encroachments was not worth a Memorial, that the mere Chance of recovering our Territory, by the Diverſion of the Enemy, ſhould be eſtimated at an infinitely greater Sum, than the beſt and wiſeſt Conductors will know how to raiſe ?

Can we ſuppoſe Men, whoſe Timidity or Negligence has been ſo Notorious, in the Progreſs of theſe *American* Encroachments, to ruſh ſo ſuddenly into the contrary Extreme ?

I can

I can eaſily imagine a timorous Man to obſerve no Proportion, in the Means he chuſes for his Safety? I can imagine him firſt to hide himſelf from the Danger, and upon the nearer Approach of it, to employ a Train of Artillery, in the Deſtruction of a Rat.

But that this ſame timorous Man ſhould call it diverting an Enemy at a Diſtance, to bring him nearer Home; ſo near that even his Domeſtics may be ſent out to Encounter him, and that his very Spits may be converted into Swords, whilſt his Cooks and Paraſites are fighting *Pro focis*; this is an Inconſiſtency of Conduct, and Character, which I cannot imagine, even amidſt all the new Men, and new Events, which the World is continually exhibiting.

I have

I have indeed heard credulous Men, who are apt to ſwallow more than they can Digeſt, take the Fact for granted, and Reaſon upon it, in a Manner, which provoked my Indignation, even more than the Fact itſelf. I have heard them call it the Meaſure of a Perſon, whoſe Name is profaned by the Mention of him, as the Patron of ſo unpopular a Conduct.

It is Invidious to deliver an Opinion, how it may become *Great-Britain* to act, if HisMajeſty's Electoral Dominions ſhould be invaded. Were I obliged to anſwer the Queſtion, I ſhould give the Anſwer of a Loyal Grateful Subject, that even in that Caſe, his Majeſty deſerves any Thing he can demand from his People.

But let me at the ſame Time ſpeak the Language of an *Engliſhman*. I would rather the whole Empire were covered with

with the Arms of *France*, than the Affections of my Countrymen alienated from the preſent King, and his Royal Deſcendents, or his *Britiſh* Power weakened, by the Ruin of his *Britiſh* Subjects.

We have ſuch undeniable Evidence of the Magnanimity of our preſent Sovereign, that whoever has the Courage to ſpeak this Language, may reſt aſſured of his Approbation.

If we could ſuppoſe the Queſtion to be humbly propoſed to his Majeſty, whether he would chuſe to give up *Great-Britain*, for the Preſervation of *Hanover*? his Anſwer would infallibly be Negative, and would rejoice every Heart in theſe Kingdoms, except only thoſe deſperate Men, who are ſtriving ſo officiouſly to OUT-HANOVER each other.

If ſuch would be the Anſwer to one Queſtion, which ſo very few have the Courage to propoſe, it may not be too preſumptuous to form, or anticipate the Anſwer to another; whether His Majeſty would chuſe to give up the Happineſs or Welfare of *Great-Britain*, without the Benefit of ſecuring *Hanover?* And the latter might much more probably follow from a Continent War, than the former.

There are ſome Advocates, among the Few, that have hired out their Talents to theſe imaginary Subſidies, who claim the Protection of *Hanover*, as Matter of national Juſtice, on the Part of *Great-Britain*, upon this Plea; that the Danger apprehended to thoſe Dominions ariſes only from the Rupture betwixt us and *France*.

If we are OBLIGED to ſuccour his Majeſty's ELECTORAL Dominions, it is either becauſe they are ſubject to the ſame Prince, or becauſe we are in general obliged to indemnify every State, which ſuffers Loſs, or Inconvenience, by the Courſe of the War. If the former be inſiſted on, it will be found, upon Inquiry, to be an Obligation of PERSONAL GRATITUDE, rather than JUSTICE. When it is founded on this Motive, very few good Subjects would be rigid enough to diſpute the Claim with the preſent King. But the Dominions are too diſtinct from *Great-Britain*, in every Senſe, to ſupport a Demand of national Juſtice, upon the ſingle Principle of His Majeſty's being the Sovereign of Both.

If the other be the Plea, that Juſtice obliges us to indemnify thoſe States, who

ſuffer in the Courſe of the War; then the Demand is equally Obligatory upon *France*, and *Hanover* can be only one Claimant amongſt a Multitude, and will hardly receive ſuch Support from the Law of Nations, as will Authorize her to Exhauſt our Treaſure, in the Pay of Mercenaries for her Defence.

But it is probable after all, whatever their Deſtination may be, that *Hanover* may receive no more Benefit from theſe Mercenaries, from the *Ruſſians* at leaſt, than *Great-Britain*, or *Ireland*. They may meet with inſuperable Difficulties in their March; and may poſſibly enter ſome Countries in *Germany*, which might be at a Loſs to ſubſiſt an Army of Seventy Three Thouſand Men.

It will moreover, independently of all theſe Conſiderations, be naturally aſked by a free *Briton*, if this Meaſure were taken. Why was it not propoſed to Parliament laſt Winter? It was certainly meditated then, unleſs the Adviſer of it would aſſume more Precipitancy, than even his Enemies lay to his Charge.

If it was meditated then, would it not have appeared in a much more favourable Light, with the Authority of a previous Concurrence of Parliament; or is it not rather a ſtrong Argument againſt the Probability of ſuch a Meaſure, that a Whig Miniſtry cannot be ſuppoſed to PRESUME the Conſent of Parliament, in the Diſpoſal of publick Money?

If it ſhould be urged, that theſe Treaties after all, are not ſo Abſurd, or Improbable

probable as I repreſent them ; that it may be a *Britiſh* Meaſure, meant for the Security of theſe Iſlands, in Caſe of an Invaſion, I muſt even then confeſs myſelf as Incredulous as ever; for, in that View of it, I cannot conceive a Step more unnatural, or more irreconcileable to the Panic pretended.

If an Invaſion were truly apprehended, Prudence or Policy would not direct us to have Recourſe to a mercenary Army, much more diſtant than the Enemy ; an Army, which muſt clear its Way, by Fire and Sword, through the Dominions of very powerful-Princes ; which, when arrived, might have ſome Pretence, like the *Heſſians* in 1745, for declining to act ; and an Army, to which it would be ſome National Diſgrace to owe our Preſervation.

Their

There is a more Natural and a more Obvious Conduct, for the Reception of an Invader, which no Conductor of Men or Affairs, however Blinded, or however Hurried, can poſſibly paſs over, without a Deliberate Intention. It is to call forth our Internal Strength, to Increaſe the Military Eſtabliſhment, or to Arm and Exerciſe the Militia, and a Kingdom, which hath not ſufficient Internal Strength for its own Security; is, though aſſiſted by a Million of Mercenaries, in as weak, and as frail a Condition, at leaſt, as a Kingdom divided againſt itſelf.

In this infirm State, Auxiliary or Mercenary Troops are as formidable as Enemies. They may repel an Invader, but they will derive from the Victory greater and ſtronger Claims than any Invader could

could pretend, for they will be enabled more effectually to enforce any Claims.

But, God be thanked, we are not yet ſo defenceleſs as to have Cauſe to dread, either Enemies or Mercenaries; and, whenever the Invaſion appears to be really intended, we have the Confidence to hope, that this Kingdom will eſcape the Danger of becoming a Province to *France*, without ruſhing into the Ignominy of becoming tributary to *Ruſſia* or *Heſſe*.

So many are the Reaſons I have for withholding my Credit from the malignant Report which alarms you. You mention indeed another Piece of News, in Confirmation of it, which, if true, may juſtify your Alarm, but for the preſent confirms my Incredulity.

It is rumoured, you ſay, that a Gentleman, no leſs conſpicuous in Character than in Office, nauſeated the Draught when it was abruptly adminiſtered to him. This is the Rumour throughout the Kingdom, and it is univerſally known that a Perſon of his Probity would act the Right Part.

But, is it at all credible, that one of the moſt unblemiſhed Characters in the Kingdom, in an Office which ſuppoſes very great Confidence, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the Neglect of not being conſulted, or, if I apprehend you right, of not being even apprized of ſo important a Meaſure ?

It may, for very ſtrong Reaſons, be the preſent Policy to render the beſt and worthieſt Men the moſt inſignificant. But there can be no Reaſons, either of Prudence

or Neceſſity, for Avowing ſuch a Conduct, and Declaring to the Public, that it is a Demerit, or rather a Crime, to be Eſteemed and Confided in, by all Ranks of Men.

However, notwithſtanding all this Reaſoning, I am ſtill liable to be told, that Arguments *à priori*, concluſive as they are, avail nothing againſt the Stubborneſs of a plain Matter of Fact; and, if theſe Treaties are actually concluded, it will not be the leſs true, though I ſhould invent a Thouſand Reaſons, to ſhew the Improbability of it.

It is too true, my Friend, that the moſt improbable, and the leaſt deſirable, Event, will ſometimes take Place. If this ſhould be the Caſe at preſent, I muſt convert my Arguments into ſuch bitter

bitter Lamentations as a Heart ſwelling with Grief, will be impatient to vent.

If old JOHN of *Gaunt*, who is repreſented to have broke his Heart, becauſe the Dignity of the Kingdom was proſtituted, by farming the Public Revenues, had been a Witneſs to the Preſent State of the Nation, to our Naval Strength, to the Loyalty and Public-ſpirit of great Part of the People, and, at the ſame Time, a Witneſs to a Meaſure, ſo derogatory to the Honour both of the Crown and the Kingdom, as Imploring and Procuring, with a BORROWED Sum, the Aid of Princes, whoſe Dominions were, till very lately, a Deſart, and whoſe Subjects are at this Day little better than Savages, the Pride of his *Britiſh* Spirit might have Impelled him to lay Violent Hands upon himſelf.

The Times indeed require a very different Exerciſe of our Zeal, and no Times will Juſtify this Method of venting it. But as men vary in their Tempers and Underſtandings, they will be variouſly affected by Public Events, and accordingly this Meaſure will moſt deeply afflict thoſe Worthy Members of the Community who murmur leaſt.

I ſhall conſider myſelf in the Caſe of a Paſſenger in a Veſſel, of which the Pilot was Self-willed, Over-bearing, Negligent, ſometimes Raſh, ſometimes Timorous, ſeldom in the Right, but moſt obſtinate when moſt in the Wrong, Feared, but Ridiculed, Diſturbed and Diſliked by the Majority of the Crew.

A Mutiny was every Moment expected, but a Boatſwain, who, by lively Parts, an ingenious Way of Talking, and by affecting an irreconcilable Hatred towards the Pilot, had obtained or aſſumed Weight enough to take upon himſelf the Conduct of the Men, with great Difficulty preſerved the Peace for ſome Time.

It was obſerved at laſt, by a ſkilful Mariner, that the Headſtrong Pilot was ſteering directly towards a Rock. The Boatſwain was called upon to expoſtulate with him; and, by convincing him of the Danger, to reſcue his Friends from certain Deſtruction.

But, to the Surpriſe of the whole Ship's Company, the Boatſwain, who, till that Moment

Moment had Judiciouſly Concealed his Opinion, now declared Boldly, in the very Face of the Rock, that the Conduct of the Pilot was Judicious, that himſelf was reſolved to defend it, and, if he heard any Complaints, he ſhould Report them to the Captain, who would know how to Quell this Mutinous Spirit.

The Paſſenger was a Melancholy Witneſs to what Paſſed, and Retired to his Cabin in Tears. He ſaw the Power of the Pilot, and the Effrontery of the Boatſwain. Nothing remained for him, but to Lament his hard Fate, to be ſacrificed to the FOLLY and OBSTINACY of one Man, and the AVOWED PROFLIGACY of another. He was under the unhappy Neceſſity of Reſigning himſelf, but neither Religion, nor Philoſophy, could move him

him to a Chearful Reſignation, when he ſaw the Rock before him, and himſelf Involved in a Calamity, Wilfully incurred by others.

I muſt leave you to apply this Story, and conclude with the ſtrongeſt Aſſurance, that I remain,

Dear Sir,

Yours, &c. &c.

FINIS.

FINIS.